

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 138419 TOSEC 060025  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /016 R

DRAFTED BY: S/S-O:AWOTTO

APPROVED BY:S/S-O:AWOTTO

-----161947Z 094918 /75/21

P 151102Z JUN 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 138419 TOSEC 060025

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN 138419, VICE 128419)

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM ANKARA DATED JUNE 15, 1977  
SENT SECSTATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 4560

FOR SECRETARY VANCE FROM AMBASSADOR MACOMBER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, US

SUBJ: DEPARTURE MESSAGE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM  
AMBASSADOR MACOMBER

REF: A) ANKARA 4494, B) ANKARA 4383

1. WITH THE TURKISH ELECTION OVER, I HAD HOPED THAT THE  
SITUATION HERE WOULD HAVE CLARIFIED SUFFICIENTLY TO  
ENABLE ME TO SEND YOU A USEFUL ADDENDUM TO THE POINTS I  
MADE IN OUR RECENT DISCUSSION IN TEHRAN. HOWEVER, WHILE  
THE TWO MAJOR PARTIES GAINED SIGNIFICANTLY IN STRENGTH,  
THE ELECTION RESULTS, NOT UNEXPECTEDLY, FAILED TO PRODUCE  
FOR EITHER PARTY THE MAJORITY POSITION WHICH SO MANY  
PEOPLE IN AND OUT OF TURKEY HAD HOPED FOR.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 138419 TOSEC 060025

2. EVEN A STRONG MAJORITY GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE BEEN IN  
IMMEDIATE DIFFICULTY DEALING WITH THE SERIOUS DOMESTIC  
PROBLEMS (I.E. ECONOMIC, CIVIL DISORDER) WHICH MUST BE  
FACED EARLY ON HERE. MOREOVER, EVEN A MAJORITY GOVERNMENT  
WOULD, IN TURN, NOT REPEAT NOT HAVE BEEN EASY FOR US TO  
DEAL WITH, FOR ALL THE SCAR TISSUE REASONS WITH WHICH YOU

ARE FAMILIAR. THESE DIFFICULTIES ARE NOW COMPOUNDED BY THE FACT THAT TURKEY IS LIKELY TO HAVE A WEAKER GOVERNMENT THAN A MAJORITY RESULT WOULD HAVE PRODUCED.

3. AS FOR THE FORM AND MAKEUP OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, IT IS TOO EARLY TO PREDICT WITH CERTAINTY. ECEVIT HAS THE BETTER CHANCE AT THE MOMENT OF EMERGING ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AS PRIMIN, BUT THIS OUTCOME IS BY NO MEANS ASSURED. IF HE FAILS IN HIS EARLY ATTEMPTS, WE COULD BE IN FOR A FAIRLY LONG PERIOD OF MANEUVER AND DELAY BEFORE EITHER AN ECEVIT OR DEMIREL, OR A COMPROMISE GOVERNMENT EMERGES. (THIS ASSUMES THE MILITARY WILL NOT INTERVENE, AN UNFORTUNATE POSSIBILITY WHICH WE CANNOT DISCOUNT.) IN THE PAST FEW DAYS I HAVE HAD PRIVATE TALKS WITH BOTH ECEVIT AND DEMIREL AND WHILE THESE HAVE BEEN SEPARATELY REPORTED (REFS A AND B), IN ESSENCE I FOUND BOTH MEN DISCOURAGED. NEITHER IS VIEWING THE FUTURE WITH THE DEGREE OF CONFIDANCE OF CLARITY THEY HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO INSTILL WITH THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS.

4. YOU WILL RECALL THAT WHEN WE LAST TALKED I BELIEVED THAT IF ECEVIT COMES TO POWER, WITH OR WITHOUT A COALITION PARTNER, THIS WOULD REPRESENT FOR US BOTH GREATER OPPORTUNITIES AND GREATER RISKS THAN WOULD ANOTHER DEMIREL PRIME MINISTERSHIP. WITHIN THAT GENERALITY, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT ECEVIT, PARTICULARLY IF HE CAN COME TO POWER WITHOUT THE HELP OF ERBAKAN, WILL BE SOMEWHAT EASIER (BUT NOT EASY) FOR US TO DEAL WITH IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION THAN DEMIREL HAS BEEN. ON THE OTHER HAND, AS I INDICATED TO YOU IN TEHRAN, I BELIEVE THAT WITH OR WITHOUT A COALITION PARTNER HE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 138419 TOSEC 060025

MAY BE MORE DIFFICULT ON AEGEAN MATTERS. CONTRARY TO WHAT ECEVIT'S DOMESTIC CRITICS LIKE TO SAY, HE IS AN ARDENT, SOMETIMES STRIDENT NATIONALIST. UNFORTUNATELY, THIS HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY DEMONSTRATED IN THE AEGEAN SITUATION BY A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN ISSUED BY HIM AND BY HIS PARTY SPOKESMEN ASSERTING THAT DEMIREL HAS BEEN TOO SOFT ON THIS ISSUE. (THESE STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY STRIDENT WHEN ISSUED BY HASAN ISIK WHO HAS BEEN ACTING RECENTLY AS SOMETHING OF A SHADOW FOREIGN MINISTER FOR ECEVIT'S REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY.) THE SAME HARD-LINE NATIONALIST STREAK IN ECEVIT IS ALSO LIKELY TO BE EVIDENT IN HIS DEALINGS WITH US, ALTHOUGH HIS MANNER AND HIS PHRASEOLOGY WILL GENERALLY BE SMOOTHER AND MORE GRACEFUL THAN DEMIREL'S.

5. REGRETTABLY I LEAVE TURKEY WITH ALL THE CONCERNS I EXPRESSED TO YOU IN TEHRAN VERY MUCH INTACT. I AM WELL AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF GREECE TO U.S. NATIONAL INTERESTS, AS I AM AWARE OF U.S. CONCERN WITH THE MORAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN CYPRUS. BUT IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION WHERE

GREEK-TURKISH LEGAL AND MORAL RIGHTS AND WRONGS ARE BOTH HISTORICALLY AND PRESENTLY ALMOST HOPELESSLY INTERTWINED, I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT WE MADE A SERIOUS ERROR BY TAKING SIDES AND IMPOSING THE EMBARGO. IN SUCH MORALLY CONFUSED SITUATIONS IT SEEMS TO ME ALWAYS UNWISE TO TAKE SIDES BETWEEN OUR FRIENDS. MOREOVER, IT IS SURELY A CLASSIC DIPLOMATIC MISTAKE TO ALLOW A LESSER SITUATION SUCH AS CYPRUS, IN WHICH WE HAVE A VERY LIMITED SECURITY STAKE, TO THREATEN TO JEOPARDIZE A LARGER ONE SUCH AS THE U.S.-TURK SECURITY PARTNERSHIP WHERE WE HAVE, QUITE LITERALLY, VITAL NATO AND MIDDLE EAST SECURITY INTERESTS. I AM SINCERELY PERSUADED THE LONGER WE PERSIST IN OUR PRESENT COURSE, THE MORE THE RISKS TO THESE SECURITY INTERESTS (INCLUDING DIFFICULTIES IN THE AEGEAN) CAN ACCUMULATE.

6. OF COURSE, THE FAULT IS BY NO MEANS OURS ALONE. THE TURKS HAVE TENDED TO LOSE SIGHT OF WHAT IN MY VIEW ARE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 138419 TOSEC 060025

THEIR TRUE NATIONAL SECURITY PRIORITIES AND AS IN OUR OWN CASE, THIS IS AT LEAST IN PART THE RESULT OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS. AND AGAIN THEY, TOO, HAVE DISPLAYED AN UNWILLINGNESS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE IS A MIX OF RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION. IT IS NOT, THEREFORE, BECAUSE OF THE MERITS OF THE TURKS' POSITION BUT BECAUSE OF CLEAR AND BASIC U.S. SECURITY INTERESTS IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD THAT I HAVE SO PERSISTENTLY ADVOCATED A STRONG AND EARLY EXECUTIVE BRANCH EFFORT TO GET THE CONGRESS TO DESIST FROM THE LINGAGE COURSE IT IS ON. PERHAPS THE DANGERS WHICH I FEAR WILL NOT VEST IN THE END, BUT BASIC NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE AND I SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD NOT CONTINUE TO TAKE THAT CHANCE.

7. IN SAYING THE ABOVE, I WOULD NOT WISH, ESPECIALLY IN MY LAST MESSAGE FROM ANKARA, TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT I AM UNAWARE OF THE COMPLEXITIES OF THIS, AND SO MANY OTHER, SITUATIONS WITH WHICH YOU MUST STRUGGLE. THERE ARE NO EASY ANSWERS TO ANY OF THE ISSUES THAT REACH YOUR DESK, AND U.S (TURKISH PROBLEMS (NOT TO MENTION U.S.-GREEK DIFFICULTIES) ARE SURELY NOT EXEMPT FROM THAT RULE. PHYLLIS AND I BELIEVE OUR COUNTRY IS FORTUNATE INDEED TO HAVE YOU SITTING AT THAT DESK, AND SHE JOINS ME IN SENDING OUR VERY BEST WISHES FOR THE DAYS AHEAD.  
MACOMBER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TOSEC, ELECTION RESULTS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, NATIONAL SECURITY, DEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 15-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977STATE138419  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** O:AWOTTO  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770215-0651  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770654/aaaabuxb.tel  
**Line Count:** 164  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** fd10777c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 ANKARA 4494, 77 ANKARA 4383  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 17-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2140914  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** DEPARTURE MESSAGE FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR MACOMBER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MARR, PINT, TU, US, (MACOMBER, WILLIAM B), (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/fd10777c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009